/359 cont./

263 pieces which are put near the fire to make them melt little by little. The cooks dip them from time to time into the soup, then take them out. If the salt is taken from salt marshes or from water by evaporation, /360/ they mold it into large balls which are scooped out as needed (Fig. 28).

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Fig. 27. Young Chiriguano woman winnowing beans. Caruruti. (Photo. A. M.)

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263 The major part of the salt exploited in Chiriguano country comes from a mine situated in the San Simon region, between San Luis (Entre Rios) and the Salado River, in the department of Tarija. The Indians flock there from all directions with droves of donkeys which set out again loaded with big blocks of crystallized salt afterward cut into small pieces.

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C 263 ● 319 The Indians of Ibopeytí, although living in the neighborhood of the San Simon salt mine, consume it in the form of the big balls which I have just mentioned. Pulverized, it is a salt which reminds one of our table salt but coarser. The inhabitants of this village assured me that they used to find it near the Pilcomayo. That is very possible, for the rivers which flow in the region are very salty as their names indicate (Río Salado, Saladito, etc.). These rivers, which frequently overflow and often change their beds, must form here and there real salt marshes. The Chiriguano of Ivu and Machareti collect the water from a salt spring, boil it, and by successive coolings obtain salt which they mold into balls (Campana, p. 89).

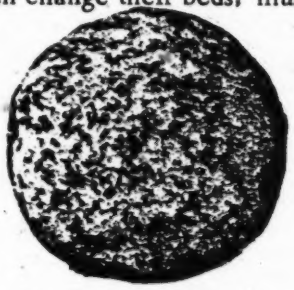

Fig. 28. Salt molded in a ball, ready to be consumed or exported. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/2 nat. size ±.)

C 263 The Chiriguano are parsimonious with their salt. I did not see them salt anything but dried beans; and when the latter are cooked in the pod, they are served that way without condiments, the same as corn or squash.

C 264 When a Chiriguano woman offers you a dish of beans or meat, she always puts some corn flour beside you. It is not easy to eat it according to the rules; the Indians take great pinches of it between their fingers and throw them into their mouths with marvelous dexterity. Upon seeing them so adroit, T 175 264 I thought of their ancestors from Brazil, the ancient Tupinamba and Guarani, who excited the hilarious admiration of the first navigators: "But however that may be, our Tououpinambaoults, men and women as well as children, being accustomed from childhood to eating it (manioc flour) completely dry instead of bread, are so used to and trained for that, that taking it with

/382 cont./

804 439 [177] The Chiriguano measure the cloth which Syrian peddlers come to offer them with varas, that is, a stick about 80 centimeters long, the length of the ancient Spanish vara. This instrument has been borrowed from the Bolivian half-breeds.

Chapter VI

121 Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

To Professor Félix F. Outes.

The artistic sense of the Chiriguano is manifested in pottery decoration, pyrography, and wood carving.

We shall study these three activities one after the other.

Pottery Technique

114 323 The Chiriguano pottery technique has been studied briefly by Campana (p. 54), following Father Giannechini's notes, and by Outes (3, pp. 122-123), who adds some details communicated to him by the naturalist Holmberg to the ones he took from Campana's work. Nordenskiöld (1 and 10, pp. 142-147) completed on many points Campana's brief survey, so that I myself shall have few new things to note.

● 317 323 [439] The clay used by Chiriguano potters comes from beds well known to the Indians, where they go from time to time to lay in fresh supplies. It is enough to see old vessels full of earth around a hut to know that a woman lives there still practicing the ancestral industry. Where adequate clay is lacking, pottery is imported. Thus in the Tigüipa mission all the vessels in use were made in Machareti.

323 In order to be used the clay must be degreased with powder /383/ coming from potsherds. Fragments of old vessels are ground in a mortar until, after being put through a sieve, they give a fine powder which is kneaded for a rather

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Dwellings.—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

Household furniture.—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing.—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

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Genii

776 171 Where ignorance dominates, superstition is the result, I imagine, since all the tribes adjacent to the Chiriguano must believe in the existence of genii or owners of certain places who, not to offend anybody, are even accepted by some members of the white race, especially when dealing with buried treasures. This is not the least strange, since before the arrival of Christ all humanity, except for the Hebrews, believed in this, and even today in those places where the light of the Gospel has not penetrated a belief in genii prevails, even among enlightened people, because only the Gospel dissipates /illustration appears here/ /145/ the mists from the soul and destroys error, consequences of the fall of the first man.

778 776 In Chiriguano the tutelar genii of a place are called Iya, owner in the literal sense. If the Chiriguano pass by places where there is some genie, they find it difficult to approach, and if one asks them where there might be some limestone or gypsum, they will not tell for fear of the Iya, who would take revenge by killing the Chiriguano who caused the place watched over by the genie to be discovered. If something useful must be taken from such a place, they do it with the permission of the Iya (1).

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1. The presence of the Iya in places where petroleum is found is undeniable for the Chiriguano. They will take what is absolutely necessary of this liquid to cure the sores of their horses, cows, etc.

135 When the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, the missionary made every effort to try to find gypsum and limestone, but no Indian was willing to tell where it was abundant. Nevertheless, by chance, while the foundations of the church were being built, it was discovered that many of the stones being used were of hydraulic lime, an abundant vein of which was found about 300 meters from the church itself on top of a hill. Gypsum up to today has not been found in the areas thereabouts for the same reason, but there are signs of its presence. In

/181 cont./
462 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it
415 would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's
531 work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

[825]

2. Thus they say Machuru haangaño, figure of a lizard, Yaimba haangaño, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the matés. They now color all the
[386] etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces
[239] with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taragüirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

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1. The Taragüirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

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I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles. For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/182 cont./

323 avoid the loss of her reputation as a worker or master of an art which provides her with money and subsistence, despite the low price of the vessels (2).

[648] [317]

2. There exist some Christians who in their area prohibit the unfortunate Chiriguano women from removing clay from some good veins. For this and so many other reasons, as has been observed by the illustrious Father Pierini, the savage sees in the white, not a brother, but an enemy.

Before going on to the manufacture of the vessel, jar, or plate, the potter provides herself with a potsherd or several of these, depending on the size of the work which she wishes to do; if she cannot find it in the corners of her house because there are no broken pots, she borrows one from her neighbors, and if they do not have any or do not wish to do her the favor, she breaks one of the inferior and smaller ones. In the missions or wherever there are ovens to fire tiles and bricks, the potters can do without a potsherd; they find pieces of well-fired bricks or tiles around the ovens, and with this the primary material is complete.

/183/ Then she submerges an appropriate quantity of clay in water, as much as may be needed for the piece she plans, and she leaves it there until it is completely softened and can be kneaded better than wax. Meanwhile she reduces to the finest powder the potsherd, brick, or tile which she has managed to get, sifts it in the finest sieve, Unupe, that she possesses; next she kneads the softened clay, making sure that it does not harden too much, puts in it all the sifted powder, and mixes it so that it forms a perfect union with the clay, and leaves the lump thus prepared until the next day.

The potter, after having cleaned her house and her person as well, and having fed her children, sits down near the receptacle which contains the raw material, extracts an amount of clay, and begins to knead it, shaping it into the

/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukiu." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

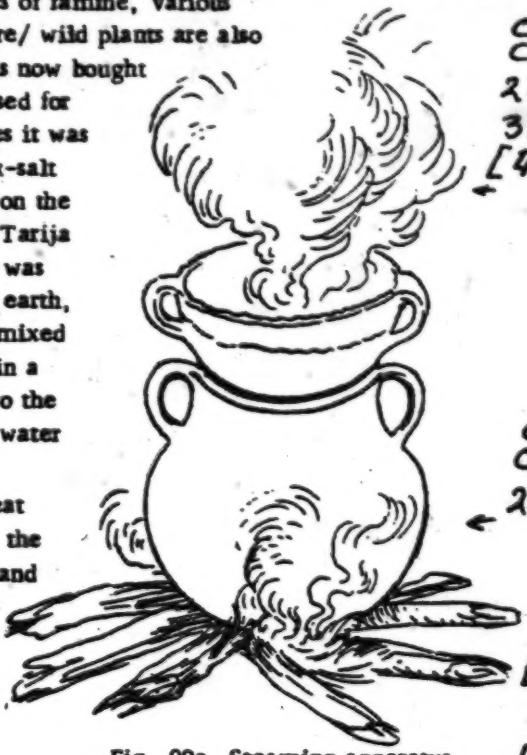

Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

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231 /18 cont./ With
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although
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78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 236. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
● 319 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
439 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

C 263 317 439 /19 cont./ from the whites (82).

82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359 and 360.

C 273 [312] Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in certain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I, pp. 364 and 365.

Ce [273] or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

Ce 264 415 The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

Ce 415 [126] I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p. 142/), as well as two wooden dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C 415 Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 6 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

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Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

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Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

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Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263 317 [439]

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

ft Schmidt--108 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C 317 263

/45 cont./
the earth of the salt licks called "yukiu" (214).

214. Nord. 1, p. 189. See Métraux 1, pp. 359 and 386.

Making Fire

Ee 372

Native implements to make fire are little used today by the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The specimen I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

Ee [178] [296]

215. Métraux 1, p. 259.

Ee [415] [239]

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) kept in a container made of a a cow horn or armadillo tail.

Ee 372 126

Fire-making Implements in the Collection

I. A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the implements.

b. Wick of cotton thread.

c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of the nest of a species of wasp.

d. Piece of a modern metal file.

e. Pieces of flint.